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convictions with sufficient numbers, and if these convictions can be organized and focused upon the problem, then the press, the pulpits, and the schools will heed; men and women of the market-place will lend their aid; legislators and ambassadors will listen and help. Out of such an educational movement, and only such, can the follies of war be removed and a rational substitute provided.

Every one who reads these words will probably know how limited are the resources of this society for the promotion of such a large propaganda; but he will also know, or can easily ascertain, that the society needs but one thing to make such a campaign still more conspicuously effective. That one thing is money.

It is something new for this society to appeal for large funds. We have become accustomed to doing with little. But the distressing world situation, bringing to our doors this remarkable opportunity, heartens us to appeal openly and candidly for funds—a large sum of money, one million dollars, two million dollars—more, if possible. The organization is at hand; it only needs extension. Our society's history, system, aims, and ideals are as an open book. Upon them the American Peace Society frankly bases its appeal. You would do away with war? That, certainly, is our specialty. Help us. The philanthropy of the world has never faced a greater opportunity than the opportunity rapidly developing before humanity today—the opportunity to end forever the monstrous curse of international war. Which of the two privileges below can we prevail upon you to accept? The need is real and immediate:

FORM OF GIFT.

I am enclosing \$..... as my contribution to the Special Fund proposed by the American Peace Society. It is my desire that the money be used as the society may best decide for the promotion of its efforts to do away with international war.

N. B.—For a time gifts of \$25.00 or over will entitle the donor to a *Life Membership* in the American Peace Society and to its monthly magazine, THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society the sum of dollars, to be appropriated by the directors thereof in such manner as they deem most effective for the abolition of international war.

Can Permanent Peace Between Nations be Secured?

A PROPOSED DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

(This declaration has been presented to the executive committee of the American Peace Society by one of our most devoted and active friends. The committee desires to receive frank expressions either of approval or criticism of this statement.)

We hope that it will not be considered inappropriate if we undertake for the sympathizers with the cause of peace, so far as we may speak for them, to lay down some of the principles calculated, we believe, to insure firm and everlasting peace between nations. In so doing we feel called upon definitely to reject certain of the ideas which heretofore have controlled the international relations of States, because we recognize that the growth of intercourse between nations has rendered such theories in truth obsolete.

We deny, for example, the absolute right of any nation to determine its course of action irrespective of possible effects upon its neighbors, just as states deny such right to an individual person. We assume that a nation is a member of a common family or community, and that as such its sovereign rights, so called, must be limited by the corresponding rights of other nations. We conceive that this proposition denies to any nation the right to initiate war against another; that this be true whether there be claim of infraction of boundaries, oppression of those of common blood, affronts to honor, historical enmities, or whatever may be the real or fancied cause. From these considerations it follows that it would be as wrong internationally for a nation to attack another as it is nationally wrong for a private individual to declare blood feud against his neighbor. The restriction placed upon a nation entering into the society of nations must be that it thereby surrenders its right to be advocate, judge, and executioner of its own policies, irrespective of who may be injured directly or indirectly by such conduct. Does not the existing worldwide distress afford an absolute demonstration of the futility of any other conclusion?

We therefore declare that with the termination of the present conflict there should be an agreement between the nations of the earth which shall preclude any nation from determining alone the righteousness of its own cause as against the interests of another nation.

We recognize in the present conflict the absolute breakdown of the theory that the strength of a nation rests upon the perfection of its military system and the development of its enginery of war. We consider that current history demonstrates that one nation's determination to base its very existence on the ability to control by arms the will of other nations leads only to a similar determination on their part. The inevitable result is simply the ultimate injury or destruction of all. Militarism, in short, defeats the very ends for which it purports to exist.

We therefore further declare that the employment of armaments by a nation should not extend beyond the preservation of internal order, and that they should never be used for foreign aggression. When the fires of the present conflict are extinguished, the nations must submit at once to some plan of co-operative, collective, and radical reduction of armaments. To this plan the United States, of course, must be a party. Hence we are resolutely opposed at this time to any increase of the military or naval strength on the part of our own government, for we dare hope that in this respect, as already with regard to democratic government, the United States shall remain the leader of the world.

We recognize that the Hague Conferences, however beneficial they may have been in giving a partial sanction to the purposes of arbitration between nations, have absolutely failed in their treatment of the subject of war. This, we regretfully say, is because they have not adequately considered the views we have hereinbefore expressed, because they have regarded war between nations as the inevitable if not the legitimate expression of the assumed national will of disputants, and because they have succeeded, and that most feebly, simply in cloaking some of the savagery and brutality of international conflict.

We declare that the time is now come when the ax should be laid to the root; that hereafter no "Confer-

ence" should undertake to lay down rules aiming to "regulate" military or naval warfare. It must rather declare armed conflict to be internationally unrighteous and intolerable. It must acknowledge that it is no more possible to formulate rules for civilized warfare than it is to codify the laws of civilized piracy, civilized highway robbery, or civilized murder. No good can come from further shutting eyes to this fundamental truth.

To the end of making the views just expressed more effective, we declare that the nations of the earth should by common agreement determine to permit no international flotation of bonds for the purpose of carrying on war or procuring the means of war; that they permit under no circumstances the exportation of arms or munitions of war from one country to another; that they stamp out, as they would a plague, the manufacture or construction of munitions or vessels of war by private individuals or corporations, whether designed for national or international purposes; that, should the necessity demand it, they allow only the arming of international forces for the enforcement of international peace.

Further, to insure the abolition of international war, we declare that so long as a state of war continues the neutral nations of the earth should forbid trade with any country found guilty of indulging in war, and that they should enforce such determination internationally; that all alleged breaches of treaties should be referred to a judicial body for determination, which body must be clothed with every moral sanction, and if necessary, which we do not expect, with every physical sanction to enforce its judgment.

The ends we have in view, ambitious and far-reaching as they may seem, are simple and readily resolvable into a single proposition, which is that no nation shall have power henceforth to indulge in conduct toward another nation which would be illicit or condemnable if indulged in by one man toward his neighbor.

That nations may never again fall into the awful error destroying now the youth and hope of Europe, that there may never be another war, we solemnly call to all right-thinking people of the world for support and co-operation in the establishment and maintenance of these most important principles.

We have made bold thus to express ourselves with reference to the cause we so humbly but earnestly represent, because we would that the foundation of the new world order may be begun at once.

Editorial Notes.

Oppose Naval Exhibit.

Through one of our California members we learn that the commissioners of the exposition that is to be held in San Diego in 1915 are contemplating the exhibit of a model or replica of the Panama Canal, on the Pacific outlet of which a battle between the fleets of the United States and Japan is to be pictured, the American navy carrying off the victory. This project should meet the universal condemnation of all pacifists. A representation of any battle between our navy and that of some foreign power would be a distinct misfortune at this

time, when every suggestion even of war should be studiously avoided. But it is nothing short of criminal to arouse anti-Japanese feeling in this country and anti-American feeling in Japan by such a foolhardy suggestion. It can hardly be said too sharply that the "inevitable war" with Japan, predicted the other day by Republican leader James R. Mann in the House will, unless counsels of "inevitable peace" prevail, be one of our making, and nothing will hasten its coming more than an indiscretion like that proposed by the exposition authorities. We call upon our members to pour in protests by the hundreds to prevent the consummation of this singularly stupid undertaking.

Japan's Attitude to America. There has recently been organized by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America a Commission on Relations with Japan, of which Dr. Sidney L. Gulick is the special representative. He is endeavoring to set right, as far as he can, American opinion in regard to the feeling of the Japanese. In an open letter he states that Japan's general attitude is still one of true friendship for our country, but that our unjust treatment of her has caused a cooling of this friendliness on the part of many Japanese:

"There is no disguising the fact that a considerable change has taken place the past five years. There is a pretty strong jingo press in Japan, and it has considerable influence on the masses. American treatment of Japanese . . . has played into the hands of that press, for it has revealed invidious race discrimination which has been exceedingly mortifying to them. . . . Japan has been waiting to see whether America will accord her a treatment that is really honorable and friendly. Professions of diplomats and preambles to treaties do not create friendly relations and feelings. These come into existence through actual deeds of justice and good will. . . . I am only surprised that anti-American feeling in Japan is not stronger. . . . Japanese restraint and patience during the past eighteen months is remarkable, and shows how firm is their confidence that in the end their appeal to American sense of justice will prevail. Yet we may not presume on its indefinite continuation."

It is high time that America took cognizance of the fact that she is responsible for whatever unfriendly feeling there exists in Japan. If we continue to foment suspicion and dislike, we should not be surprised if animosity develops. Dr. Gulick says further:

"I wish I could convince the American people that there is no danger whatever of war between Japan and America. For Japan it is financially, economically, and physically impossible and psychologically incredible. Her responsible leaders are well aware of this. She wants and needs our friendship, and she will do anything consistent with national dignity and honor to secure it. It is equally inconceivable that America